

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205501

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UR, PFOR, XF

SUBJECT: POLITICAL ANALYSIS: PODGORNYY ON PALESTINIAN  
STATEHOOD

PASS FOLLOWING VIA THE NATO-WIDE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM

RR RFWFA RFWFB RFWFD RFWFE RFWFV RFWFG RFWFH RFWFI RFWFK  
RFWFL RFWFM RFWFN RFWFO RFWFP RFWFQ RFWFR RFWFZ

FM WASHINGTON

TO AIG 6006

AIG 6007

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL FROM WASHINGTON

1. IN A SPEECH IN BULGARIA, SEPTEMBER 8, PODGORNYY AMENDED  
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MOSCOW'S POSITION ON PALESTINIAN RIGHTS TO INCLUDE THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME FORM OF PALESTINIAN STATE. HIS REMARKS, COMING WHILE THE SOVIET UNION IS ADVOCATING UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, CONSTITUTE A FURTHER STEP TOWARD OPEN SOVIET SUPPORT FOR A PALESTINE "NATIONAL AUTHORITY." THIS STEP WILL, IN EFFECT, PROFIT ARAFAT AND THE PLO--THOUGH PODGORNYY MENTIONED NEITHER.

2. MOSCOW, ALWAYS CAUTIOUS IN ITS PUBLIC TREATMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, GENERALLY HAS COUCHED ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE IN VAGUE TERMS. HOWEVER, SINCE THE ARAB SUMMIT MEETING HELD IN ALGIERS LAST NOVEMBER RECOGNIZED THE PLO AS THE "SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN A SERIES OF TENTATIVE STEPS TOWARD A MORE EXPLICIT PALESTINIAN POLICY:

A. --THE NOVEMBER 1973 TITO-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE SAID THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAD "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS," THEREBY DEFINITELY ADDING "NATIONAL" ("NATSIONALNYYE," WHICH IN SOVIET USAGE SUGGESTS TERRITORIALITY) TO THE THERETOFORE STANDARD SOVIET "LEGITIMATE RIGHTS" FORMULA ON THE PALESTINIANS, DERIVED FROM THE 1967 UN RESOLUTION.

B. --DURING HIS MARCH 1974 VISIT TO CAIRO, GROMYKO MET FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH ARAFAT.

C. --WHEN ARAFAT VISITED MOSCOW IN AUGUST, THE SOVIETS AGREED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PLO OFFICE IN MOSCOW.

D. --THE SOVIET-PALESTINIAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE CONCLUSION OF ARAFAT'S VISIT NOTED THE "IMPORTANCE" OF THE ALGIERS SUMMIT DECISION ON THE PALESTINIANS.

3. NOW PODGORNYY HAS SAID THAT THE "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" OF THE PALESTINIANS ENCOMPASS "THEIR SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN STATEHOOD IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER." ALTHOUGH MOSCOW HAS BEEN CALLING FOR THE GUARANTEEING OF PALESTINIAN "LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS" CONTINUALLY SINCE LATE NOVEMBER, THE FORMULA HAD NOT

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PREVIOUSLY BEEN GIVEN ANY SUBSTANTIVE DEFINITION. NOR HAD ANY SOVIET LEADER SPOKEN PUBLICLY OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A PALESTINIAN STATE. (SOVIET MEDIA COMMENTATORS, HOWEVER, HAVE TOYED WITH THE NOTION OF A WEST BANK-GAZA ENTITY SINCE AT LEAST 1967.)

4. PODGORNYY DID NOT SPECIFY THE FORM THAT A PALESTINIAN STATE SHOULD TAKE, AND INDEED, HIS CHOICE OF THE VAGUE

WORD "GOSUDARSTVENNOST," WHICH CAN MEAN "STATEHOOD" OR "STATE PRESENCE," INDICATES CONTINUING SOVIET RESERVATIONS ABOUT TAKING A PUBLIC POSITION ON THE ISSUE. PODGORNYY'S LANGUAGE HAS ENOUGH FLEXIBILITY TO PROVIDE FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN A FEDERATION OR FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE, AS WELL AS FOR THE FOUNDATION OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE ON TERRITORY CURRENTLY UNDER ISRAELI OCCUPATION.

5. A MOSCOW RADIO PEACE AND PROGRESS COMMENTARY ON

SEPTEMBER 2, ECHOING THE LINE TAKEN BY IZVESTIYA EDITOR TOLKUNOV IN LATE JULY, MADE CLEAR, HOWEVER, SOVIET DISTASTE FOR PALESTINIAN SELF-DETERMINATION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A UNITED ARAB KINGDOM UNDER HUSAYN. MOSCOW RADIO PEACE AND PROGRESS FURTHER CASTIGATED WHAT IT PORTRAYED AS JORDANIAN OBSTRUCTIONISM ON THE ISSUE OF WHO REPRESENTS THE PALESTINIANS (JORDAN, THE PLO, OR BOTH), AND CHARACTERIZED THE PLO AS "THE TRUE ADVOCATE AND DEFENDER OF THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE."

6. PODGORNYY'S STATEMENTS ON THE PALESTINIANS ARE THE MOST EXPLICIT THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS PUBLICLY MADE. THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT IN MOSCOW'S LINE PROBABLY WAS MADE PUBLIC WITH A VIEW TOWARD PREPARING THE GROUND FOR SOVIET ACTIVITY AT THE COMING SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHICH WILL--IF ARAB EFFORTS ARE SUCCESSFUL--DEBATE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

7. RECENT SOVIET PROPAGANDA COMMENTARIES HAVE SAID THAT THE USSR WILL SUPPORT ARAB EFFORTS TO TACKLE THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM AT THE UNGA SESSION, AND MOSCOW IS

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APPARENTLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR UN ACTION. A SOVIET OFFICIAL TOLD EMBASSY MOSCOW THAT THE ARAB RECOGNITION OF THE PLO AS THE "SOLE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE" OF THE PALESTINIANS MAY ASSIST THE FEDAYEEN TO OBTAIN MORE VOTES FOR A SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION ON THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM THAN THEY GARNERED FOR PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS MERELY EXPRESSING SYMPATHY WITH THEIR PLIGHT. KISSINGER

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